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ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that many researchers acknowledge the significance of ethnic identity to a person's psychological functioning, few empirical studies have focused on factors that may influence the process of ethnic identity development. An examination of the empirical literature on such factors can yield valuable information to help guide clinicians, students, educators, and parents. This research paper addresses methodological considerations inherent in studies of ethnic identity, as well as different theoretical concepts of ethnic identity. A review of the literature on factors that may influence the development of ethnic identity is presented. The paper offers clinical implications and suggestions for future research on ethnic identity. (Contains 44 references and 1 figure.) (Author/BT)

FACTORS THAT IMPACT ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT:
A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

A Doctoral Research Paper

Presented to

the Faculty of the Rosemead School of Psychology

Biola University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Psychology

by

Lydia Sunkyung Chun

May, 2003

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ABSTRACT

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A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

by

Lydia Sunkyung Chun

Despite the fact that many researchers acknowledge the significance of ethnic identity to one's psychological functioning, few empirical studies have focused on factors that may influence the process of ethnic identity development. An examination of the empirical literature on such factors should yield valuable information that could help guide clinicians, students, educators, and parents. This paper addresses various methodological considerations inherent in studies of ethnic identity, as well as different theoretical conceptualizations of ethnic identity. A review of the literature on factors that may influence the development of ethnic identity is presented. Finally, clinical implications and suggestions for future research on ethnic identity are offered.

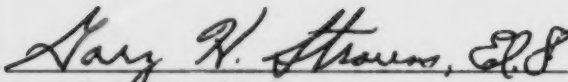
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FACTORS THAT IMPACT ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT:
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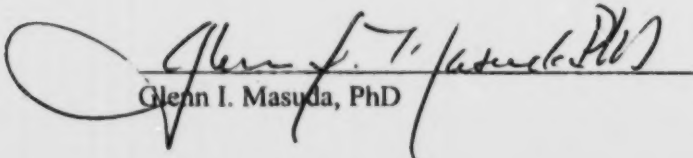
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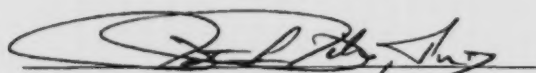

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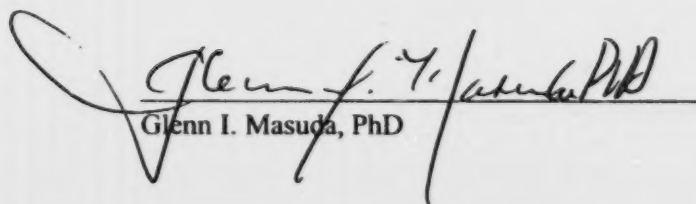
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FACTORS THAT IMPACT ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Introduction

Ethnic identity constitutes an important part of self-definition that affects the way in which individuals feel about themselves, process information, and present themselves in the social environment. How one feels about one's ethnic background very often is a reflection of how one feels about oneself. Achieving ethnic identity is crucial to and positively related to self-concept (Lee, 2001; Phinney, 1990, 1992; Phinney & Chavira, 1992) and healthy psychological functioning of individuals from non-European groups (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997). Personal attitude toward one's own ethnicity has a great impact on psychological functioning (Phinney & Kohatsu), particularly when a person lives in a society where his or her own ethnic group and its culture are, at best, poorly represented and are, at worst, discriminated against (Pinderhughes, 1989). The process of achieving a coherent and stable self-identity involves the integration of ethnic or racial identity with personal identity for Americans who are from non-European ethnic groups (Phinney & Kohatsu; Pinderhughes; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

In addition to its significance for self-concept and psychological functioning, the achievement of stable and positive ethnic identity also has increased significance for American society due to its ever-changing demographics. In response to this increasing diversity, researchers have invested in the study of the interactions within ethnic groups,

as well as between various ethnic groups and the dominant group (Sue, Mak, & Sue, 1998).

Although the issue of ethnic identity has been addressed conceptually from a variety of perspectives, the theoretical writing far outweighs empirical research (Phinney, 1990). In addition, scholars conducting empirical research on this topic face many difficulties. Published studies on ethnic identity have generally focused on single groups, using widely discrepant definitions and measures of ethnic identity, yielding inconclusive and/or contradictory findings (Phinney, 1990), thereby making generalizations and comparisons across studies difficult and ambiguous. Research has typically emphasized the consequences of a strong or weak identification, with few empirical studies focusing on factors that influence the process of forming an ethnic identity (Phinney, 1996; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992). When factors affecting the development of ethnic or racial identity have been explored, the focus generally has been on variables such as age, sex, income, and education (Thompson, 1991).

An examination of the empirical literature on factors contributing to or interfering with the development of a healthy ethnic identity could yield valuable information that may help guide clinicians, educators, and parents in their work with clients, students, and their children. This paper will begin with a discussion of methodological considerations inherent in studies of ethnic identity as well as different theoretical conceptualizations of ethnic identity. A review of the empirical literature on factors influencing the development of ethnic identity will follow. Finally, suggestions for future research in ethnic identity will be offered.

Methodological Considerations

Various methodological considerations should be addressed when reviewing the research exploring ethnic identity. The literature in this field of study has been fragmented and inconclusive with definitional problems, procedural inconsistency, and a lack of reliable instrumentation (Phinney, 1990). Definitions of terms, instruments, and sampling procedures used in the research will be discussed.

Definitions of Terms

A major difficulty in the study of ethnic identity is the definition of terms. Therefore, the present discussion will begin with an exploration of the similarities and differences among various definitions of ethnic identity, racial identity, and acculturation.

Ethnic identity. Many researchers acknowledge the enormous challenges and difficulties of defining the construct of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity includes complex, multidimensional factors that have varied definitions across disciplines, varied theoretical conceptualizations, and differing research methods (Phinney, 1990). Although researchers appear to share a broad understanding of ethnic identity, the specific aspects that they emphasize in their studies are widely varied.

Defining the term *ethnic identity* first requires an understanding of the term *ethnicity*, which has been defined as "an orientation toward the shared national origin, religion, race, or language of a people" in social work (Barker, as cited in Lee, 2001, p. 160). Sadowsky, Kwan, and Pannu (as cited in Phinney, 1990) defined ethnic identity as one's sense of identification with one's culture of origin on the basis of shared cultural characteristics such as history, traditions, religion, and language. Tajfel (as cited in

Phinney, 1990) proposed that ethnic identity refers to "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255). In addition, Phinney (1996) stressed the importance of particular behaviors associated with ethnic group membership.

Researchers have generally focused on single ethnic groups and have used widely discrepant definitions and measures of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). As a result, despite the wealth of scientific and theoretical literature concerning ethnic identity, there is no widely accepted definition, and the constructs of ethnic identity are still in debate.

In addition to the complexity of defining ethnic identity, the term has been related inconsistently with other terms such as *racial identity* and *acculturation*. In short, research has been hampered by the multidimensional factors of ethnic identity, the variety of ways in which ethnic identity has been defined, and the inconsistency in relating it with other terms (Sue et al., 1998). A variety of proposed definitions of ethnic identity will also be discussed in greater detail in the literature review.

Racial identity. According to Helms (as cited in Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997), *racial identity* is a term that is used primarily in studies of the African American population and refers to one's identification with one's racial group and emphasizes how individuals come to recognize and overcome the psychological and internalized effects of racism. Due to their immigration history, many African Americans were disconnected from their ethnic roots, and race is always a factor in their societal definition, which does not appear to hold true for other people of color (Pinderhughes, 1989). Although there is a difference

between racial identity and ethnic identity, both terms involve a similar process in their development. For the purposes of this paper, racial identity and ethnic identity will be used interchangeably and discussed as similar developmental processes.

Acculturation. Many researchers have used ethnic identity and *acculturation* synonymously, disregarding their differences (Lieber, Chin, Nihira, & Mink, 2001; Sue et al., 1998). Although there is an obvious conceptual overlap between the two terms, the differences between the two constructs should be delineated. Ethnic identity essentially refers to self-regard or self-concept, whereas acculturation is less self-reflective and emphasizes the process of adapting to a new culture and society through changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviors (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, as cited in Lieber et al., 2001) in order to survive in the dominant culture (Keefe & Padilla, and Paniagua, as cited in Galapon, 1997).

Instruments

Another major problem in the research of ethnic identity is the lack of reliable measures of the construct. In addition to the problems inherent in confusing definitions of ethnic identity, numerous researchers have constructed assessment measures that lack validity and reliability, and have little recognition in the scientific community at large. Another challenge in the exploration of ethnic identity is the vast differences among ethnic groups. What may be a significant component in defining ethnic identity for one ethnic group may be insignificant for other groups (Phinney, 1990).

Although many researchers used semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and/or instruments that they had developed for the purposes of their own studies, the

following assessment tools were the most frequently utilized in the studies reviewed. Other instruments will be included within the discussion of the respective studies in which they were utilized.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. Proposing that ethnic identity is a general phenomenon that is relevant to all ethnic groups, Phinney (1992) developed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) to assess the extent of ethnic identity among diverse ethnic groups. After an extensive literature review, Phinney identified the following elements common for the ethnic identity development of all individuals: (a) self-identification (ethnic label used for oneself); (b) ethnic behaviors and practices, affirmation, and belonging to an ethnic group (ethnic pride, sense of attachment); and (c) ethnic identity achievement (exploring and resolving ethnic identity issues). The MEIM requires that respondents rate items on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores representing greater ethnic group identification. The MEIM includes Affirmation/Belonging (5 items), Ethnic Identity Achievement (7 items), and Ethnic Behaviors or Practices (2 items).

Phinney (1992) used two samples (417 high school participants and 136 college participants) in determining the reliability of the MEIM (.81 and .90, respectively for the two samples). The college student sample had higher ethnic identity achievement scores than did the sample of high school students, $t = 2.18, p < .05$. Of further interest, higher ethnic identity scores were related to better high school grades, $t = 2.7, p < .01$, and higher self-esteem among both groups ($r = .31, p < .001$).

Racial Identity Attitude Scale. Parham and Helms (1985) based their 30-item self-report Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS) on Cross's (1971) theory of the Negro-to-Black conversion experience. Ponterotto and Wise (as cited in Kroecker, 1993) examined the underlying factor structure of the attitude items as an aspect of racial identity development and found that the reliability and validity of the RIAS was inconsistent (.35 – .79). However, a principle-axis factor analysis examining the underlying factor structure supported the theoretical constructs inherent in three (Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization) of four development stages.

Samples and Procedures

Certain methodological issues are of concern regarding samples and procedures in the research reviewed. One of the major challenges of sampling in regard to ethnic identity is the vast difference among ethnic groups. Phinney (1990) noted that to understand the complex factors contributing to ethnic identity more precisely, both general influences that apply across groups as well as processes related to the unique characteristics of each group must be considered. One way to identify common influences as well as unique influences would be to use more diverse samples; however, most studies reviewed focused on a single ethnic group. Since each group has its own unique background, history, customs, values, and language, generalization of research findings across ethnic groups is difficult.

Another methodological issue involves the procedures used in studying ethnic identity. Due to the lack of reliable instruments and inconsistency in definitions of ethnic identity, many studies were case studies that illustrated the concept of ethnic identity.

Although these provide rich data, interpretation may be inconclusive or conflictual, and generalizability of results is extremely limited.

Review of the Literature

Researchers acknowledge the enormous challenges and difficulties of defining ethnic identity, recognizing that the construct is composed of complex and multidimensional factors with many definitions across disciplines, theoretical conceptualizations, and research methods. Phinney (1990) contends that ethnic identity is far more complicated than most models suggest.

Theories of Ethnic Identity

One of the reasons for such wide discrepancies in the definition of ethnic identity appears to be the diversity of theoretical approaches. Phinney (1990) described three broad theoretical frameworks of conceptualization of research: Social Identity Theory, Acculturation Theory, and Identity Formation Theory. Although these frameworks overlap in their general conceptualizations of ethnic identity, each differs from the other in the specific aspects they emphasize.

Social Identity Theory. Lewin (as cited in Phinney, 1990) asserted that individuals need a firm sense of group identification in order to maintain a sense of well-being. Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory (as cited in Phinney, 1990) asserts that ethnic identity is significantly influenced by social context. Simply being a member of a group provides individuals with a sense of belonging, a factor necessary for a positive self-concept. This sense of attachment to the group and its individual members is based on

shared ethnic characteristics.

However, ethnic identity may also be explained as how a person is classified by others. If an ethnic group is viewed negatively by the society, the members of that group frequently have negative ethnic identity that may result in low self-esteem. To maintain self-esteem, some may deny identification with their ethnic group (Hogg, Abrams, & Patel and Ullah, as cited in Phinney, 1990). Ethnic identity studies conducted within this theoretical framework investigate how ethnic group membership is a factor of self-concept, as well as the solutions that group members use to enhance their social status (Phinney, 1990).

Acculturation Theory. Researchers who view ethnic identity from an acculturation theoretical framework argue that ethnic identity is meaningful only in situations in which two or more ethnic groups are in contact over a period of time. Their primary focus is on how an individual relates to the dominant or host society, and the term ethnic identity is often used synonymously with acculturation.

Identity Formation Theory. Identity Formation Theory provides a developmental framework influenced by Erickson's ego identity formation theory. Weinreich (as cited in Phinney, 1990) asserted that ethnic identity is not a state or a concrete substance, but a complicated process by which people construct their own ethnicity. Within this framework, researchers focus on the individual's development of ethnic identity as a dynamic process of decision-making and self-evaluation (Caltabiano, Hogg et al., and Simic, as cited in Phinney, 1990). Several specific models of ethnic identity development will also be discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

Internal and external ethnic identity. In addition to various theoretical conceptualizations of ethnic identity, some researchers based their studies on components of ethnic identity such as feelings of belonging and commitment (Singh, Ting-Toomey, and Tzuriel & Klein, as cited in Phinney, 1990), a sense of shared values and attitudes (White & Burke, as cited in Phinney, 1990), or attitudes toward one's group (e.g., Parham & Helms, 1985; Teske & Nelson, as cited in Phinney, 1990). In contrast to the focus on attitudes and feelings, other researchers have emphasized the cultural aspects of ethnic identity such as language, behavior, values, and knowledge of ethnic group history (e.g., Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, as cited in Phinney, 1990).

The components of ethnic identity emphasized by various researchers are captured well by Isajiw's (1990) concept of *internal* and *external* ethnic identity. Internal ethnic identity includes the following three dimensions: cognitive, moral, and affective. The cognitive dimension refers to a person's self-images and images of his or her own ethnic group, as well as knowledge of the group's values and history. The moral dimension refers to a person's sense of group obligations, and the affective dimension refers to a person's feelings of attachment to his or her own ethnic group. Some components (sense of belonging, positive and negative attitudes toward one's ethnic group) of ethnic identity delineated by Phinney (1990) appear to correspond to the internal aspects of ethnic identity postulated by Isajiw. The external aspects of ethnic identity refer to observable social and cultural behaviors, manifested in language usage, friendships, participation in ethnic-group functions, and maintenance of ethnic traditions. These behaviors correspond to ethnic activities and cultural practices identified by

Phinney.

Kwan and Sodowsky (1997) explored the relationship of internal ethnic identity and external ethnic identity with Chinese immigrants' experience of salience of ethnicity, fear of loss of face, and cultural stress. Four hundred fifty questionnaire packets were sent to Chinese American faculty, staff, and students at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, as well as to people in the West coast, Midwest, East coast, and the Southwest regions of the U.S. Of the 224 Chinese participants (124 women, 100 men), 94 lived on the West coast, 83 were from the Midwest, 33 lived on the East coast, and 14 were from the Southwest. One hundred five participants indicated that at least 60% of the people in their work and school settings were White Americans, and 164 participants indicated that at least 60% of the people in their neighborhood were White Americans.

Kwan and Sodowsky (1997) used the Internal-External Ethnic Identity (Int-Ext Id) measure (developed by the authors for this study); the Acculturative Distress subscale of the Cultural Adjustment Difficulties Checklist (Sodowsky & Lai, 1997); the Salience of Ethnicity Index (Kwan & Sodowsky); and the Loss of Face Measure (Zane, 1992) to assess various dimensions of ethnic identity development. Int-Ext Id items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 6 (*agree strongly*). Results of pairwise comparisons suggested adequate inter-rater reliability for items that were hypothesized to form the internal and external dimensions of the Int-Ext Id measure.

This study (Kwan & Sodowsky, 1997) included the use of the Acculturative Distress subscale of the Cultural Adjustment Difficulties Checklist (AD; Sodowsky & Lai, 1997) to measure acculturative distress, which was defined as the conflict a racial or

ethnic minority person experiences when one's culture comes into firsthand contact with a vastly different dominant culture. The internal consistency of the AD subscale was .92. Items of the AD subscale that distinctly represent cultural stress experiences were selected for analysis. These 11 items are indicative of Asian immigrants' experiences of conflicts with White Americans, with people from their own cultural group, or with their family members. Overall, these cultural stress items reflect a sense of confusion and marginality. These 11 items have demonstrated an internal consistency reliability of .86 and item total correlations ranging from .39 to .69.

Kwan and Sodowsky (1997) also constructed a 7-item Salience of Ethnicity Index for the study. Items captured participants' personal reactions to their ethnic visibility, specifically regarding their accent, clothing style, and behavioral interaction with White Americans. These items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 6 (*agree strongly*). This measure demonstrated a reliability of .77, and the item-total correlations ranged from .38 to .54.

The Loss of Face Measure, a 21-item instrument developed by Zane (1992), was used to measure threat to or loss of social integrity. The measure had a reliability coefficient of .84 for the current study (Kwan & Sodowsky, 1997), and the internal consistency reliability was comparable to that (.83) reported in an earlier study using an Asian American sample.

Findings of this study (Kwan & Sodowsky, 1997) indicated that 124 participants (54.5%) obtained higher scores on external ethnic identity that exceeded the critical difference score, whereas 5 participants (2.2%) obtained higher scores on the internal

ethnic identity dimension. Ninety-seven participants (43.3%) obtained a difference score that failed to exceed the critical difference score. In a stepwise multiple regression analysis, salience of ethnicity was significantly predicted by internal ethnic identity, $F(2, 221) = 49.96, p < .0001$, but not by external ethnic identity, $F(2, 221) = 3.64, p < .06$. Furthermore, internal ethnic identity significantly predicted fear of loss of face, $F(1, 222) = 55.12, p < .0001; R^2 = .2001$, but external ethnic identity did not.

Kwan and Sodowsky's (1997) study supported Isajiw's (1990) concept of internal and external ethnic identity. Despite the moderately high correlation between the internal and external ethnic identity subscales, the two dimensions were perceived as meaningfully different, as well as complementary. Chinese Americans' internal ethnic identity predicted their perception of salience of ethnicity, whereas their external ethnic identity did not. Seeing internal ethnic identity and external ethnic identity as different, both conceptually and empirically, makes possible the differential appraisal of ethnic identity.

In summary, the range of definitions from numerous researchers attests to the fact that ethnic identity is clearly a complex and multidimensional concept. As previously mentioned, despite the wealth of literature concerning ethnic identity, it has no widely accepted definition. Although there has been some progression in defining ethnic identity with the humble acknowledgment of the complexity of the term, there is a need for continuous empirical work to clarify this important concept.

Ethnic Identity Development

Erickson's (1968) theory of ego identity formation describes a developmental process. According to Erickson, people go through a period of exploration and experimentation in the search of their identity, usually during the adolescent years. Although he expressed the importance of culture in identity formation, few studies have examined ethnic identity within this framework (Phinney, 1990, 1996).

According to Phinney and Kohatsu (1997), American adolescents from non-European backgrounds must achieve a secure sense of their ethnic and/or racial identity in order to make a successful transition toward healthy functioning in adulthood. Ethnic identity development is, therefore, also a process of ethnic identity formation (i.e., necessarily includes the process of achieving a secure sense of who one is as an ethnic minority; See also Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1983).

The formation of ethnic identity also has been described as similar to Marcia's (as cited in Kim, 1998) process of identity achievement (Phinney, 1990). Marcia suggested four ego identity statuses based on the exploration of options, decisions, and commitment. A diffuse status applies to one who has neither engaged in exploration, nor made a commitment. A person who makes a commitment on the basis of someone else's (usually parents') values without one's own exploration represents a foreclosed status. A moratorium status describes a person who is in the process of exploration, but who has not yet made any commitments. Finally, identity achievement is the result of making a firm commitment following a period of exploration.

Several stage models of ethnic identity were proposed to describe the process that individuals go through in the formation of their ethnic identity. The following are among the more widely accepted models: Minority Identity Development model (MID; Atkinson et al., 1983); the Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model (R/CIDM; Sue et al., 1998); Racial Identity Models (Cross and Helms, as cited in Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997); and a three-stage model of identity formation (Phinney, as cited in Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997). All of these models acknowledge the struggle that individuals from non-European ethnic backgrounds experience as they try to make sense of who they are through resolving conflicts among their cultural values and orientation, the dominant culture's influences, and the prejudice and discrimination that they face. In addition, these different models describe common processes of development. Each of these models describe the progression from an unexamined ethnic identity through a period of exploration to an integrated, achieved ethnic identity. Phinney (1989, as cited in Phinney, 1990) examined these similarities and proposed a three-stage model of identity formation, with these three processes making up the three stages.

Cross (as cited in Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997) described a five-stage model for the development of Black consciousness in college students during the Civil Rights era. In the Pre-Encounter Stage, a Black person denies his or her culture and views the world from a Euro-American frame of reference. Blackness is devalued, and Whiteness is idealized. The encounter stage is marked by a startling personal or social event occurs that pushes the individual to reexamine and begin to abandon his or her old world view.

In the Immersion/Emersion stage, the person idealizes Blackness and makes a full commitment to Black culture by becoming immersed in Black experiences. However, the degree of internalization of positive attitudes about one's own Blackness appears to be minimal. The Immersion/Emersion stage is also characterized by a tendency to denigrate Whites (Cross, as cited in Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997).

The Internalization stage involves the resolution of conflicts with the dominant culture. Having incorporated aspects of the immersion/emersion experience into his or her self-concept, the person achieves a feeling of inner security with his or her Blackness, along with a general decline in strong anti-White feelings. The Internalization/Commitment stage is characterized as one in which the person continues to express his or her Black identity by means of continued political involvement for the sake of the group. This model (Cross, as cited in Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997), which describes the African-American process of self-actualization under conditions of oppression, is the foundation for the RIAS (Parham & Helms, 1985) that measures racial identity attitudes.

The Minority Identity Development Model (Atkinson et al., 1983,) follows a framework similar to other minority identity development models. However, the MID model considers an individual's view of himself or herself, other members of the same ethnic group, other minority groups their members, and the dominant group and its members. Integrating various perspectives, this model can be applicable to all ethnic minority groups and is comprised of the following stages: (a) conformity, (b) dissonance, (c) resistant immersion, (d) introspection, and (e) synergetic articulation and awareness.

During the conformity stage, individuals prefer dominant cultural values to those of their own culture. The attitude toward self is depreciating because they view their different physical and/or cultural characteristics as a source of shame. Their attitudes toward members of their own minority group are also negative, and they are viewed according to beliefs held by the dominant group. In addition, individuals during this stage tend to discriminate against members of different minority groups, viewing them according to the dominant group's system of minority stratification. On the other hand, these individuals also tend to idealize and admire members of the dominant group and accept its cultural values without question. In short, they try very hard to identify with the dominant culture (Atkinson et al., 1983).

The dissonance stage is characterized by cultural confusion and conflict as individuals encounter information and/or experiences that are inconsistent with previously accepted values and beliefs. Consequently, they begin to question attitudes they held during the conformity stage. Individuals' attitudes toward themselves during this stage vacillates between self-depreciation and self- appreciation. Furthermore, their attitude toward members of the same minority also vacillates between group-depreciation and group-appreciation. They begin to question the dominant culture's views of their ethnic group. At this stage, individuals frequently experience a growing sense of closeness with members of another minority. Their attitudes toward members of the dominant group also change from total idealization to acknowledging that not all cultural values of the dominant group are positive and beneficial (Atkinson et al., 1983).

The third stage is called the resistant immersion stage during which individuals completely endorse views held by the minority without question and totally reject the dominant society and culture. They are strongly devoted to eliminating oppression of their ethnic group. Individuals in this stage have positive and appreciating attitudes toward themselves and the members of the same minority group, and are devoted to finding their own history and culture. They feel closer to persons from other minority groups whom they believe are sharing similar experiences of oppression. On the other hand, attitudes toward members of dominant group are depreciating and negative. They reject the dominant society and culture completely, distrusting and disliking its members (Atkinson et al., 1983).

The resistant immersion stage is followed by the introspection stage during which individuals begin to experience feelings of dissatisfaction and discomfort, rigidly holding to views of the resistant and immersion stages. Individuals begin to experience conflict between a sense of obligation and allegiance to their own minority group and their autonomy. Although attitudes of identification with their own group continue, individuals in this stage now are concerned with an ethnocentric basis for judging others and place greater value on groups that may be experiencing the same oppression. These individuals also begin to explore their totally depreciating attitudes toward members of the dominant group and begin to experience conflict between their attitudes of distrust and their attitudes of selective trust and distrust of the dominant group's members (Atkinson et al., 1983).

The last stage is referred to as the synergetic articulation and awareness stage. Individuals in this stage experience a sense of self-achievement with regard to cultural identity. Cultural values of all groups, including the dominant group, are objectively examined, selected, and integrated. Personal behaviors are motivated to eliminate all forms of oppression, and their attitudes toward self and others from all minority groups are positive and appreciative. These individuals experience selective trust and liking for people of the dominant group who also seek to end oppression. They are aware of and open to positive and constructive elements of the dominant culture (Atkinson et al., 1983). Atkinson et al. expanded and revised the MID model and renamed it the Racial/Cultural Identity Development (R/CID) model.

Each model suggests that as a result of this process, people come to appreciate their own ethnicity. This achievement, however, does not necessarily imply a high degree of ethnic involvement. One could presumably be clear about and confident of one's ethnicity without wanting to maintain one's ethnic language or customs. In order to reach the achieved ethnic identity stage, the resolution of two fundamental problems for ethnic minorities are required, namely, the cultural differences between their own group and the dominant group, and the lower status of their group in society (Phinney, 1990).

From their review of empirical studies, Phinney and Kohatsu (1997) found that individuals who fell in the unexamined ethnic identity stage had low self-regard and feelings of inadequacy, and showed poorer psychological adjustment. In contrast, individuals in the achievement stage appeared to have a positive self-concept and a lack of psychological distress. Many findings supported the conclusion that trying to fit into

the dominant culture (e.g., the White "world") and rejecting one's own cultural roots are related to feelings of anxiety, insecurity, and poor psychological adjustment (Carter, Helms, Parham, & Helms, Pyant & Yanico, Taub & McEwen, as cited in Phinney & Kohatsu). Phinney and Kohatsu concluded that "the denial and/or denigration of one's race or ethnicity seems to be negatively associated with the development of a healthy sense of self and of psychological functioning overall" (p. 430).

Sue et al. (1998) noted that people may not go through the stages in the same way, and that the stage model does not necessarily assume unidirectionality. Because the boundaries between the stages of ethnic/racial development models are fluid, an individual will not necessarily proceed through all stages and may revert to lower stages after reaching higher levels. Additionally, individuals may begin at any point on the continuum and may recycle through stages. Furthermore, people may function at higher levels without going through lower levels.

Phinney and Chavira (1992) also found that the majority of their participants progressed through the stages of ethnic identity development; however, stability and regression were also apparent. Furthermore, Parham (as cited in Phinney, 1990) has suggested that ethnic achievement is not the end of the ethnic identity development process in that individuals may continue in cycles that involve further exploration of the meaning of one's ethnicity.

Factors That Influence Ethnic Identity Development

In seeking to understand the process of ethnic identity achievement, it is necessary to investigate factors that may be related to and/or influence its development.

The following section is a review of the current empirical research exploring the potential influences of (a) parents and family, (b) language acquisition and maintenance, (c) ethnic education and role models, (d) experiences with racism, and (e) other social factors.

Parents and family. Although child development literature has noted the impact of parenting styles on children's identity development, few studies have examined the role of parental influence in the development of children's ethnic identity. Exploring the relationship between parenting behaviors and positive ethnic identity among minority group adolescents, Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) examined the relationship of four types of parenting behavior (warmth, control, monitoring, and autonomy-promoting) to components of ethnic identity (ethnic behaviors/knowledge and ethnic pride). These researchers hypothesized that the affective component of ethnic identity is more likely to be influenced by internalization of parental values by the adolescent and that the behavioral component of ethnic identity does not depend on parental styles. They speculated that adolescents who see their parents as positive role models due to positive parenting behaviors will, internalize not only behaviors related to specific parenting practices, but also other characteristics of their parents (e.g., identifying with their ethnic culture). They also hypothesized that ethnic pride is influenced by adolescents' internalization of parental values.

Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) recruited Chinese high school students (91 boys, 126 girls; ages 15 – 18 years) who were living in the United States ($n = 128$) and Australia ($n = 89$). All participants came from intact families, and their parents had at least 6 years of formal education. Participants from the United States were recruited from

three high schools in the San Francisco area that had Asian enrollments greater than 30%. The Australian participants were drawn from 13 high schools in the suburbs of Melbourne. The demographic characteristics of both groups of participants did not differ substantially.

During regular school hours, participating students completed a battery of questionnaires that included a demographic profile and measures of (a) family processes, (b) school performance, (c) adolescent socio-emotional functioning, (d) cultural values, and (e) ethnic identity. Two separate measures were used to assess ethnic identity, which was defined as the knowledge and use of elements of the Chinese culture and ethnic pride. A 9-item Ethnic Behavior and Knowledge Scale required participants to rate their engagement in particular ethnic behaviors or the extent of their cultural knowledge (e.g., fluency in a Chinese language). Items were rated on a 4-point scale that ranged from 0 (*not at all or none*) to 3 (*regularly or a great amount*). Ethnic Pride was assessed by seven items rated on a separate scale that ranged from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 3 (*strongly agree*). The Ethnic Behavior and Knowledge Scale and the Ethnic Pride Scale demonstrated satisfactory levels of internal reliability for the U.S. sample (.76 and for both scales) and for the Australian sample (.80 and .83, respectively; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

To assess parenting behavior, Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) created four composites (Warmth, Control, Monitoring, Autonomy-Promotion) of parenting behavior to fit the effective positive parenting behavior with generally acceptable levels of internal reliability. The Warmth composite was determined by *true* or *false* responses to 26 items.

The Control composite was comprised of 44 items divided into the following three subscales: Rule-setting (9 items), Order-keeping (8 items), and Decision-making (27 items). Participants rated items on the Rule-setting and Order-keeping subscales as true or false statements. Responses on the Decision-making subscale, which drew items from their Autonomy scale, were rated on a 5-point scale descriptive of the extent to which parents were involved in decisions about a variety of practical matters. Higher scores indicated greater parental involvement in decision-making.

The Monitoring composite, comprised of 33 items, was divided into five subscales (Attempted Monitoring, Actual Monitoring, After-school Monitoring, Mother's Involvement, Father's Involvement). In response to the Attempted Monitoring subscale (5 items), Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) asked students to rate how much they thought their parents try to know about issues relating to them on a 3-point scale ranging from 1 (*don't try*) to 3 (*try a lot*). The Actual Monitoring subscale (the same 5 items of the attempted Monitoring subscale) required participants to rate the degree to which their parents actually knew about their activities on a 3-point scale ranging from 1 (*don't know*) to 3 (*know a lot*). The After School Monitoring subscale (9 items) specifically measured parents' awareness of what their children do after school. Participants again rated statements as *true* or *false*. The Mother's School Involvement and Father's School Involvement subscales (7 items) asked participants to rate their mother's involvement in various aspects of their high school education on a 3-point scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 2 (*usually*).

The Autonomy-Promoting composite (17 items) was divided into three subscales (Independence, Emphasis on Conformity, Acceptance of Diversity). The Independence subscale was comprised of eight true-false items. Responses to the Emphasis on Conformity (4 items) subscale were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*never or not at all*) to 4 (*very often or very much*) to describe the extent to which students believed their parents expected them to accept the views of others without question and avoid conflict. The Acceptance of Diversity subscale (5 items) assessed students' perceptions of their parents' tolerance and consideration of the views of others, with higher scores reflecting high acceptance of diversity (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

Results supported the researchers' hypothesis that parenting behaviors would be associated with ethnic pride, but not with the behavioral or knowledge aspect of adolescents' ethnic identity. Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) computed product-moment correlation to assess the associations among measures of Warmth, Control, Monitoring, Autonomy-Promoting, Ethnic Behaviors, Ethnic Knowledge, and Ethnic Pride. Findings revealed that although correlations were low, all four parenting measures correlated significantly with ethnic pride, whereas only one was associated with ethnic behavior or knowledge. Ethnic Pride was correlated with parental Warmth ($r = .15, p < .05$), Control ($r = .18, p < .01$), Monitoring ($r = .19, p < .01$), and Autonomy ($r = .18, p < .01$). The results of multiple regression analysis also indicated a significant association between the predictors and the Ethnic Pride scale, $F(6, 193) = 4.05, p < .001$. Three parenting behaviors (Warmth, Control, and Autonomy-Promoting) significantly predicted Ethnic Pride and made a unique contribution to adolescent's positive evaluation of their

ethnicity.

Rosenthal and Feldman's (1992) study suggests that the influence of parenting style influences adolescents' ethnic identity development, a domain that has not been previously studied. These findings imply that what parents do impacts the pride and positive feelings that youth have about their ethnic heritage. Parental modeling of ethnic identification, therefore, is likely to be a critical factor influencing adolescents' own attitudes toward their ethnic group membership. However, the relationship between parental behavior and adolescent ethnic identity warrants closer examination.

Few studies have been conducted to examine the relationships among acculturation, ethnic identity achievement, and familial factors. Farver, Narang, and Bhadha (2002) investigated familial influence on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and psychological functioning among Asian Indian Americans. The researchers hypothesized that parental attitudes toward their own ethnic group as well as the attitudes of the host culture would influence adolescents' self-identification and ethnic identity achievement. Predicting that parents and adolescents would be similar in ethnic self-identification, acculturation style, and ethnic identity achievement, they expected to find a relationship between parents' ethnic identity achievement, parents' other-group orientation, and adolescents' style of acculturation.

Farver et al. (2002) expected that adolescents who had an integrated style of acculturation would have parents with an achieved ethnic identity and a positive other-group orientation. These researchers also expected higher conflict in families where parents had a separated acculturation style or marginalized acculturation style than would

exist in families with parents who had an assimilated or integrated acculturation style. Higher conflict was also expected in families with differential rates of acculturation for parents and adolescents (i.e., an acculturation gap) than would be found in families with no acculturation gap. Adolescents' psychological functioning was also expected to be influenced by their own acculturation style. Those adolescents who had an integrated style of acculturation would have higher self-esteem, better school performance, and less anxiety than would those who had an assimilated, separated, or marginalized style of acculturation. Finally, in families with no acculturation gap, adolescents were expected to report better psychological functioning (as measured by anxiety, school performance, and self-esteem).

One hundred eighty American-born Asian Indian adolescents (81 boys, 99 girls) and their parents were recruited from the Los Angeles metropolitan area for the study. The adolescent participants ranged in age from 14 to 19 years. Fathers, whose ages ranged from 38 to 65 years ($M = 49.0$, $SD = 4.8$), and mothers, whose ages ranged from 32 to 55 years ($M = 44.5$, $SD = 4.6$), had been born in India and immigrated to the U.S. between 1960 and 1988 to work as professionals or to seek higher education. Mothers' average age at the time of immigration was 24.0 years ($SD = 4.3$), and fathers' average age at the time of immigration was 25.4 ($SD = 4.9$). Both mothers and fathers had lived in the U.S. for 11 to 38 years. All parents could speak and write both the English and Indian languages. Although all adolescent participants reported they could speak the Indian language, few reported they could write it (Farver et al., 2002).

Farver et al. (2002) visited participants' homes to administer the questionnaires; however, the second and third co-authors, who were bilingual and bicultural, collected the data. Each adolescent and one of his or her parents completed the measures, and responses were kept confidential from one another. Despite the researchers' attempts to avoid sampling bias by counterbalancing parent gender across the sample, more mothers ($n = 149$) participated than did fathers ($n = 31$) because of their greater availability. To assess ethnic identity, adolescents and parents completed the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). The Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II; Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995), adapted for use with Asian Indians, was used to assess level of acculturation for both adolescents and their parents. This 30-item scale consists of two subscales, Asian Indian cultural orientation (17 items) and Anglo cultural orientation (13 items). Items are rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely often*), with higher scores representing an orientation toward that particular culture.

Although the ARMSA-II had not been used with Asian populations, Farver et al. (2002) reported that its items are straightforward and were easy to modify for the Asian Indian population (by inserting Asian Indian for Mexican, etc.). These modifications were reported to be consistent with the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987), which was derived from the original version of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA; Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso, 1980) for use with Asian populations. Using the guidelines accompanying the measure, Farver et al. categorized each adolescent and parent into one of the following four acculturation styles: integrated, assimilated, marginalized, or

separated.

Farver et al. (2002) assessed adolescents' level of anxiety using the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory modified for children (Spielberger, 1985). This inventory consists of 20 items (e.g., "I worry about making mistakes," "I feel unhappy," "I worry about school") that yield a total anxiety score that has demonstrated adequate reliability (.89). Respondents rate each item on a scale ranging from 1 (*hardly ever true*) to 3 (*often true*).

Farver et al. (2002) assessed adolescents' self-esteem using the Self-Description Questionnaire (Marsh, Parker, & Smith, 1983), which is comprised of 20 items rated *true* or *false*. This measure yields a reliable (.90) global self-esteem index, as well as subscales for physical appearance and social behavior. Family conflict was measured by adolescents' responses to the Issues Checklist (Prinz, Foster, Kent, & O' Leary, 1979), which assesses the frequency and intensity of discussions of 44 specific issues (e.g., telephone calls, doing homework, table manners) that might arise with parents. Participants reported how many times in the past 2 weeks they and their parents had discussed the issue, as well as the intensity of the discussion, rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*calm*) to 5 (*very angry*).

To examine the relationship between parents' attitudes toward their own ethnic group and the host culture and their adolescents' self-identification and ethnic identity achievement, Farver et al. (2002) computed chi-square analyses of responses to the MEIM on the four acculturation styles and compared them to parents' ethnic identity achievement and other-group orientation using ANOVAs. Significant correlations for adolescents' and parents' ratings on the MEIM items were revealed, as were significant

relations between parents' ethnic identity achievement and adolescents' acculturation style. Adolescents who had an integrated acculturation style had higher scores for total ethnic identity, $F(3, 179) = 3.00, p = .03$, identity achievement $F(3, 179) = 3.44, p = .02$, and other-group orientation, $F(3, 179) = 3.66, p = .01$, than did adolescents with marginalized or separated acculturation styles. In addition, parents who had an integrated style, also had higher scores for ethnic identity achievement, $F(3, 179) = 22.93, p < .001$, and other-group orientation $F(3, 179) = 4.42, p = .005$, than did those with a marginalized or separated acculturation style.

To examine the effects of differential rates of acculturation among parents on family conflict, Farver et al. (2002) compared parents' and adolescents' reports of family conflict with parents' acculturation styles using an ANOVA. Results indicated that when parents had a marginalized or separated acculturation style, they reported more frequent, $F(3, 179) = 2.54, p = .05$, and intense, $F(3, 179) = 3.40, p < .001$, family conflict than parents who had an integrated or assimilated acculturation style. The pattern was the same for adolescents: in regard to frequency, $F(3, 179) = 7.39, p = .01$, and for intensity, $F(3, 179) = 8.13, p < .001$.

To examine the effects of an acculturation gap on frequency of family conflict, Farver et al. (2002) calculated a two-level variable, acculturation gap on the basis of the match or mismatch between parents' and adolescents' acculturation styles within the same family ($n = 68$ matched; $n = 112$ mismatched). Using an ANOVA, they compared adolescents' and parents' reports of family conflict by acculturation gap. In families with no acculturation gap, adolescents reported less frequent, $F(3, 179) = 17.21, p = .001$, and

less intense, $F(3, 179) = 7.18, p < .001$, conflict. A similar pattern was revealed for parents in regard to frequency, $F(3, 179) = 12.69, p < .001$ and intensity, $F(3, 179) = 4.82, p = .02$, of conflict.

To examine their hypothesis that adolescents' acculturation styles and ethnic identity achievement were related to psychological functioning, Farver et al. (2002) compared adolescents' self-reports of anxiety, self-esteem, and grade point average (GPA) with the four acculturation styles using ANOVAs. Results indicated that adolescents with an integrated or assimilated acculturation style had higher self-esteem than did adolescents with separated or marginalized acculturation styles, $F(3, 179) = 4.81, p = .003$. However, adolescents' ethnic identity achievement was not significantly correlated with ratings of anxiety, self-esteem, or GPA. The researchers then compared adolescents' anxiety, self-esteem, and GPA using an ANOVA to examine the possible effects of an acculturation gap on adolescents' psychological functioning. Results indicated that adolescents in families with an acculturation gap reported lower self-esteem, $F(3, 179) = 5.58, p = .02$, and higher anxiety ratings, $F(3, 179) = 7.30, p = .008$, than did adolescents from families with no acculturation gap. There were no significant findings related to GPA.

In summary, Farver et al.'s (2002) hypothesis that conflict is higher in families when parents have a separated or marginalized acculturation style was supported, as was their hypothesis that conflict is higher in families with a mismatch between adolescents' and parents' styles of acculturation. Their hypotheses that adolescents' psychological functioning is influenced by acculturation style and the acculturation gap were partially

supported. These findings support the speculation that there is a relative contribution of parents' own sense of ethnic identity and their level of acculturation to their adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and psychological adjustment. The study also supported the belief that parents are instrumental in setting the tone for their children's behavior, attitudes, and successful functioning in both cultural worlds.

Farver et al.'s (2002) study had several limitations; therefore, these findings should be interpreted with some caution. First, their sample size was limited to Indian-born parents and their American-born adolescents. A strength of the study was the restriction of its sample to first and second generation individuals to control for potential confounding of generational differences. Because the acculturation gap is often its widest between the first and second generations and immigrants and their American-born children may be at highest risk for psychological maladjustment, the study contributed valuable information about this special population. However, as Farver et al. noted, acculturation and ethnic identity are likely to vary greatly across generations and ethnic groups. Therefore, future research should be conducted with larger samples, across generations, and across groups. Nevertheless, the findings of this study are noteworthy because little is known about the adjustment of recent immigrants to the U.S. and almost nothing about the Asian Indian community.

Language acquisition and maintenance. Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001) examined the importance of factors (ethnic language proficiency, cultural maintenance by parents, and social interaction with peers from the same ethnic group) assumed to influence ethnic identity among adolescents from immigrant families.

Families from three immigrant groups (Armenian, Vietnamese, Mexican) were included in the study to determine whether influences on ethnic identity operate in the same way across groups.

Phinney et al. (2001) recruited 216 adolescents (39.3% boys, 60.7% girls), whose average age was 14.86 years, from ethnically diverse schools in the Los Angeles area. The participating students and their parents were from one of three immigrant groups (81 Armenian, 47 Vietnamese, and 88 Mexican). Sixty-two percent of the adolescents were American-born, and the remainder were foreign-born who arrived in the U.S. before the age of 7 years. Research assistants visited randomly selected 9th-grade classrooms and invited students to participate in the study.

Parental assessment included the Parental Cultural Maintenance scale (Phinney et al., 2001) that was designed by the authors for this study. This instrument consists of 6 items designed to assess the extent to which parents maintained their culture by instilling ethnic pride, discussing ethnic history and the meaning of ethnicity, and encouraging their children to learn and practice cultural traditions and values. Response options range from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*), with a reliability of .83. The Parental Demographic Variables included parents' birthplace, year of arrival in the United States (if foreign born), level of education, and current occupation. Education and occupation were used to construct a measure of SES.

Phinney et al. (2001) assessed adolescents' ethnic identity using the Ethnic Identity scale, a revision of the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). This new scale consists of 12 items. Seven items assess adolescents' affirmation and sense of belonging to their ethnic

group, and 5 items assess the extent to which adolescents have explored the meaning of their ethnicity. An average is calculated from the 12 items, yielding a score ranging from 1 (*low*) to 5 (*high*) and a reliability of .84. The language proficiency scale (4 items), also created for this study, was used to assess how well adolescents understand, speak, read, and write their ethnic language. Response options range from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very well*) and yield a reliability of .87. The frequency of social interaction with peers from their own ethnic group was measured by the In-Group Peer Social Interaction scale (6 items). Response options for this scale range from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*) and its reliability was .85.

To explore the predictors of ethnic identity, Phinney et al. (2001) explored bivariate correlations among all the variables, calculated separately for each ethnic group. Findings revealed that, for Armenian, Vietnamese, and Mexican groups, ethnic language proficiency ($r = .49, p < .001$; $r = .55, p < .001$; and $r = .22, p < .05$, respectively), in-group peers ($r = .63, p < .001$; $r = .52, p < .001$; and $r = .26, p < .05$, respectively), and parental cultural maintenance ($r = .59, p < .001$; $r = .37, p < .01$; and $r = .21, p < .05$, respectively) were significantly related to ethnic identity. The study also revealed that parental cultural maintenance was significantly related to adolescent ethnic language proficiency for all three groups (Armenians, $r = .36, p < .01$; Vietnamese, $r = .52, p < .001$; Mexicans, $r = .38, p < .001$).

These similarities across all immigrant groups suggest that these three factors may be more general influences across groups. In short, parents in immigrant families can have an important impact on their adolescent children's sense of their ethnicity, either

directly or through use of the ethnic language at home (Phinney et al., 2001).

Ethnic education and role models. According to Galapon (1997), a grounded identity represents an "ideal" form of biculturalism and includes an active commitment and sense of pride as a member of both the mainstream culture and one's culture of origin. This researcher investigated the experience of ethnic identity conflicts among a sample of second-generation Filipino American women and attempted (a) to develop a clearer understanding of the experiences persons who are impacted, not only by ethnicity and conflicting messages from society, but also by roles imposed due to gender, and (b) to clarify how biculturalism and integration might evolve and develop as possible forms of identity resolution. In addition, the study assessed the impact of participating in ethnic studies classes on ethnic identity and identity resolution.

Galapon (1997) selected 10 second-generation (i.e., who had been born and raised in the U.S.) Filipino American women. All participants were students or former students (undergraduate and graduate) at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), or San Diego State University (SDSU), who had taken an undergraduate ethnic studies course on Asian American history and culture. This course includes a focus on Filipino American history that discussed early Filipino immigrants and their experience of oppression during the early 1900s.

Galapon videotaped two semi-structured interviews with each participant. The first interview was approximately 2 hours long, and the second interview was 20 to 30 minutes long and intended to clarify questions and hypotheses that arose following data analysis of the first interviews. During the data analysis, the themes were identified by

unitizing the data. Rules of inclusion were developed for each category by reflecting the collective meaning of clusters. As a final step, Galapon (1997) identified the most prominent categories for discussion. Analyses revealed that it was often difficult for the participants to maintain a positive sense of themselves as Filipino American women because of their experiences with oppression (e.g., isolation, racism, sexism). Many participants rejected the Filipino culture and/or identified with other cultures when they were younger. However, as they learned more positive ways of viewing their culture through participation in the ethnic studies course and exposure to role models, their cultural pride was strengthened.

The findings of this study (Galapon, 1997) suggest that ethnic studies courses may facilitate a stronger sense of cultural pride, increased self-esteem, and a sense of empowerment despite personal experiences of oppression and conflict. Furthermore, exposure to positive role models may help individuals become more culturally aware, and thus, less ambivalent about their culture of origin. Galapon also suggested that being exposed to past and present role models may help women validate their existence as Filipino Americans and become more empathic towards their parents.

Galapon (1997) further indicated that although these women still appeared to confront gender role confusion on a regular basis, they would be more able to move on to a point of *ethnic individuation* (recognition of personal freedom in choosing how to integrate different cultural aspects into one's own identity) as they began understand the impact of sociocultural influences. At this point in development, one is less affected by familial influences or by influence of the mainstream society, but also is able to

acknowledge positive aspects of both cultures. In so doing, one has the potential to develop a more stable sense of self and to become more self-confident as well. In recognizing their choices, Filipino American women can overcome and transcend many frustrations related to dual oppression.

In regard to acculturation, biculturalism, and ethnic identity development, Galapon (1997) concluded that ethnic identity development appears to be a process that is separate from, but parallel to the processes of acculturation in that these individuals are learning to survive and become part of the mainstream culture at the same time they are deciding how to incorporate ethnicity and gender into the sense of self. Galapon further argued that there is a bi-directional process of adaptation, and that biculturalism (as well as integration) is a way to resolve the ethnic identity conflicts.

Malgady, Rogler, and Constantino (1990) developed and evaluated a culturally sensitive treatment modality (hero/heroine modeling) to help high-risk children and adolescents of Puerto Ricans. The hero/heroine modeling intervention exposes adolescents to achievement-oriented adult role models that foster ethnic identity, pride, self-concept, and adaptive behavior for coping with the stresses of poverty, discrimination, and urban life. Based on a social learning and modeling approach to treatment, this intervention targets cultural conflicts, emphasizing the need for a strong sense of personal and ethnic identity, as well as ways to overcome stressful circumstances. Malgady et al. hypothesized that participants in the intervention group would demonstrate signs of increased ethnic identity and self-concept and decreased stress and its symptoms compared those in the control group.

Malgady et al. (1990) selected 110 Puerto Rican 8th- and 9th-graders from a public school in Brooklyn, New York. Participants had been identified as presenting the most severe behavior problems by their homeroom teachers using the Conners Teacher Rating Scale (Trites, Blouin, & Laprade, 1982). None of the participants were currently in mental health treatment, and all obtained parental consent to participate. These students were randomly assigned to either the intervention group ($n = 70$) or the control group ($n = 40$). Nine members (13%) of the intervention group and 11 members (27%) of the control group did not complete the study. The 90 participants who completed the study ranged in age from 12 to 15 years ($M = 13.67$, $SD = 0.79$). All participating 8th-graders (29 boys, 21 girls) and 9th-graders (11 boys, 29 girls) were U.S. born and fluent in English. Sixty-four percent of the participants' lived in families that were receiving welfare benefits, and 71% of the families were had a female head of household.

A panel of Puerto Rican psychologists, educators, and sociologists, along with a specialist in Puerto Rican literature and history selected heroic role models for the intervention on the basis of their significant achievements and adaptive coping to overcome adversities such as sickness, poverty, and prejudice. Biographies of the selected role models (9 men, 9 women) in diverse areas of achievement were compiled. Eighteen 90-minute modeling sessions were conducted in the school on a weekly basis, with a male or female biography presented alternately. The sessions were conducted in small groups of 3 to 5 students led by both male and female leaders (a teacher and a psychology intern). During the group, each student read aloud a portion of the biography. Then the group leaders analyzed selected anecdotes taken from the biography, identifying

the source of stress, the behavior reflecting ethnic pride, positive self-concept, and adaptive coping strengths. A group discussion ensued during which the group leaders intervened to verbally reinforce members' self-reported behavior that was consistent with the model's. The control group also met in small groups with both male and female leaders (a teacher and a psychology intern) leading group discussions of current events, school activities, and topics of student interest (Malgady et al., 1990).

To assess the effectiveness of the intervention, participants were tested in small groups by bilingual psychology students before and after the 19-week intervention period in two 1-hr sessions. All instruments used in the pretests and posttests demonstrated an acceptable level of internal consistency reliability. Ethnic identity was measured by a 17-item version of Cuellar et al.'s (1980) acculturation scale for Mexican-Americans, which was adapted to measure identification with Puerto Rican ethnicity. Items referred to behavior and feelings associated with Puerto Rican cultural pride; ethnic affiliation; language preference in family, peer, and media interactions; and ethnic self-classification. Items were rated on a 5-point scale, with low scores suggesting high Puerto Rican identity and high scores suggesting high Anglo identity. Intermediate scores reflected a bicultural identity (Malgady et al., 1990).

Self-concept was measured by the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale (Piers & Harris, 1969), with high scores indicating a positive self-concept. Trait anxiety was measured by the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (Spielberger, 1985), which includes rating items on a 3-point scale representing frequency of the given anxiety symptom ranging from 0 (*hardly ever*) to 2 (*often*), with high scores reflect high trait

anxiety. The Global Severity Index of the Symptom Checklist-90-Revised (SCL-90-R; Derogatis, 1983) was used as a measure of overall distress across nine symptom dimensions.

Malgady et al.'s (1990) analyses of the data indicated that the intervention significantly increased adolescents' ethnic identity and self-concept, as well as reduced anxiety symptoms. A significant main effect of treatment was found for ethnic identity, $F(1, 81) = 3.96, p < .05$. The intervention group had significantly higher Puerto Rican identity ($M = 2.14$) than did the control group ($M = 2.36$).

Malgady et al. (1990) conducted another covariance analysis on a global rating of pride in being Puerto Rican, with responses ranging from 1 (*not at all proud*) to 5 (*extremely proud*), and found a significant main effect for treatment, $F(1, 81) = 4.23, p < .05$. Overall, the two groups had high average ratings, but the intervention group expressed significantly more pride ($M = 4.75$) than did the control group ($M = 4.48$), corresponding to a moderate effect size of 0.45 *SD* units ($SD = 0.60$). The findings of this study support the impact of a positive attitude toward one's own ethnicity in the achievement of ethnic identity, which, in turn, affects self-concept and psychological functioning of individuals from non-European groups.

Experiences with racism. One major influence on ethnic identity is the relationship of self, other ethnic groups, and the dominant society. The experiences of racism, discrimination, and individuals' subjective interpretation of these experiences critically affect their ethnic identity. Some researchers (e.g., Pinderhughes, 1989; Uba, 1994) have argued that the experiences of discrimination and racism hinder individuals in

the development of positive ethnic identity for fear of becoming its victims. Others (e.g., Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997) have asserted that such experience and awareness of racism actually cause individuals to embrace and defend their ethnic identity and to connect with other ethnic groups in fighting against discrimination. Although the impact of experiences of racism on individual's ethnic identity has often been discussed theoretically, empirical studies of the issue are few.

Positing that significant personal and social events (e.g., racism) inconsistent with one's pre-encounter frame of reference encourage a new interpretation of self, Thompson (1990) investigated factors that maintain and reinforce an Africentric orientation on proposed parameters of racial identification. She recruited and interviewed 201 African Americans (99 men, 102 women) who were 38 years of age or older, had been born in the U.S., and resided within the St. Louis, Missouri, metropolitan area. A structured interview (in the participants' home) was designed to elicit life course data (e.g., geographical, educational, social and political activities) related to Black empowerment movements and race relations. Participants also completed a 44-item questionnaire on racial identification designed to assess the level of social cultural participation and the orientation of the participant in regard to racial identification (social participation, physical identity, sociopolitical identity, cultural identity, and psychological identity).

Thompson (1990) scored the questionnaire according to face-valid criteria, with high scores indicating a predominantly Africentric orientation, and low scores representing a Eurocentric orientation. Cultural identity referred to awareness, knowledge, and acceptance of the cultural and social traditions of African Americans,

with scores ranging from 9 to 13 points. Psychological identity referred to the individual's commitment and sense of belongingness to the racial group, with scores ranging from 0 to 14 points.

Thompson (1990) found that the most significant contributors to the variance of the psychological parameter, $F(7, 193) = 8.93, p = .0001$, were age at which racism was confronted; the individual's belief that race was important; level of participation in African American political organizations in adulthood, in high school, and in college; the individual's educational level; and the racial composition of the environment during adolescence. Results also indicated that the variance in the cultural parameter, $F(5, 195) = 10.04, p = .0001$ was best explained by educational level, level of participation in African American groups, sex, age of confrontation with racism, and participation in African American organizations during high school and college. For cultural identification, the study found that education and the age at which racism was experienced were also important factors. The findings of this study support the belief that individuals' perceptions of their experiences of racism and discrimination critically affect the development of their ethnic identity. The identities of persons from minority groups are affected by their own interpretations of significant life events related to their race or ethnicity.

Thompson (1991) also investigated life experience variables that affect racial identification using a multifaceted conceptualization of racial identification. The researcher hypothesized that life experience variables are generally of greater importance than are demographic variables such as income, education, age, or sex. The physical,

psychological, and sociocultural racial identification parameters served as the dependent variables for this study of a sample consisting of 162 U.S.-born African Americans (62 men, 100 women) whose were 18 years of age or older. A structured interview was conducted to elicit information on between-group and within-group interactions and conflict variables that might impact racial identification. Inter-rater reliabilities ranging from 83% to 96% were established in coding 22 interviews. A 31-item questionnaire was used to assess the level of intragroup interaction and orientation of the participants on three parameters of racial identification.

Findings of this study (Thompson, 1991) confirmed the hypothesis that life experience variables are of greater importance than income, education, age, or sex in racial group identification. The experience of racism over multiple periods of the lifespan was associated with increased racial identification on the physical parameter, whereas attending an integrated high school was associated with decreased physical racial identification. The experience of racism over multiple periods of the lifespan, attending an integrated college, and high levels of interaction with other African Americans were associated with increased racial identification for the sociocultural parameter; and the belief that one had experienced housing or educational discrimination was associated with increased racial identification on the psychological parameter. In addition, the following significant two interaction effects were observed: income by within-group interaction, $F(2, 124) = 3.22, p < .05$; income by geographical location, $F(2, 124) = 3.24, p < .05$; and education by within-group interaction, $F(2, 124) = 3.74, p < .05$.

Thompson's (1991) findings indicated that exposure to racism resulted in increased racial identification on each parameter. Experience and awareness of racism may provoke individuals to espouse their ethnic identity. In sum, the results confirmed the relative importance of demographic variables versus life experience variables.

Phinney, Chavira, and Tate (1993) investigated the effect of negative information about one's own ethnic group and speculated two possible reactions. First, individuals who hear negative information about their group may develop a negative view of the group through internalizing the negative stereotypes of the majority group. However, individuals may also separate themselves from negative perceptions and consider the positive aspects of the group, including role models who exemplify the group's best characteristics.

In this study (Phinney et al., 1993), participants who had been exposed to threat rated their own ethnic group and responded to questions about ethnic self-concept (the way they viewed themselves as ethnic group members). Individuals with high self-esteem were expected to be less susceptible to threats to any area of their self-concept (including ethnicity) than would those with low self-esteem. A strong sense of ethnic identity was also expected to be related with the ability to cope with threats related to ethnicity.

Participants in this study (Phinney et al., 1993) were 9th-grade students (74 boys, 35 girls) from a parochial school in a Hispanic (mostly Mexican-American) neighborhood in Los Angeles. The girls were from 14 to 15 years old ($M = 14.3$ years), and the boys were from 14 to 17 years old ($M = 14.9$ years). Thirteen percent had parents from professional or managerial backgrounds, 30% had parents with some college

education who worked in skilled or white-collar jobs, and 57% had parents who worked in unskilled jobs. One girl and 8 boys had been born in Mexico, but all spoke fluent English.

Phinney et al. (1993) assessed participants' ethnic identity using the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). Coopersmith's (1981) inventory was used to measure self-esteem, and the Private Collective Self-Esteem Scale (PCSES; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1990a, 1990b) was used to assess feelings about ethnic group membership (ethnic self-concept). The PCSES consists of four items rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*very different from me*) to 4 (*very much like me*) and has acceptable reliability (.74 - .82). For the purposes of this study, the term, *social groups*, was changed to *ethnic group*. Phinney et al. also developed an adjective rating scale, which was comprised of 11 adjective pairs that represent the extremes of commonly held positive and negative views of Hispanics. Participants rate their ethnic group on each adjective pair using a 4-point scale. Finally, to assess participants' perceptions, participants were asked to rate students on videotape regarding their expressed attitudes about Hispanics and feelings about being Hispanic (the manipulation check).

The study (Phinney et al., 1993) was conducted in individual classrooms during two class periods that were 1 week apart. During the first meeting, the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) and the Coopersmith Inventory (Coopersmith, 1981) were administered, and demographic data were collected. The following week, participants were paired by rank order on their ethnic identity, and one member of each pair was randomly assigned to one of two groups to view a videotape of a student talking about his or her attitudes and

opinions. In the negative group, participants viewed the negative videotape; and in the neutral group, participants viewed the neutral tape. Immediately afterward, participants completed the collective self-esteem scale, the adjective rating scale, and the manipulation check.

Participants who saw the neutral videotape rated that student as having a significantly more negative attitude about Hispanics, $F(1, 51) = 186.24, p < .001$, and as having significantly more negative feelings about being Hispanic, $F(1, 51) = 89.81, p < .001$, than did those who viewed the negative videotape. Ethnic identity was significantly related to ethnic self-concept, $F(1, 48) = 20.183, p < .001$. The experimental condition had a small but significant effect on ethnic ratings, $F(1, 47) = 4.451, p < .05$. In general, the negative videotape group scored lower than did the neutral group. Self-esteem was substantially related to ethnic ratings, $F(1, 48) = 11.686, p < .001$; and ethnic identity had a weaker but significant effect, $F(1, 48) = 4.107, p < .05$, on ethnic ratings (Phinney et al., 1993).

In summary, lower ethnic ratings, lower self-esteem, and lower ethnic identity were correlated with viewing the negative videotape. However, ethnic ratings were not influenced by differing levels of self-esteem or by the interaction of ethnic identity with the conditions. The results of this study (Phinney et al., 1993) demonstrated that the negative (threat) condition had a negative effect on how participants rated their ethnic group, but not on their own ethnic self-concept (i.e., the way they viewed themselves as ethnic group members). These findings suggest that more secure individuals are also more resistant to negative information about their ethnic group than those who are

insecure.

Other social factors. Social factors also influence ethnic identity development. Ethnic identity is affected by the quality of interracial contact (i.e., perception of intergroup association, group interdependence, and equal treatment in school) as well as by an ethnic group's relative percentage in a school population. As a dynamic process in the context of intergroup relations, ethnic identity is altered as the dynamics between groups change. Pellebon (2000) explored the relationship of school interracial climate, racial majority variation, and socioeconomic status with ethnic identity development. The researcher recruited 252 adolescents (13 – 19 years of age) for the study from four Wisconsin high schools. One hundred forty students were European American, 61 were African American, 24 were Latino American, and 27 identified with more than one ethnic category (Other). In all, 91 boys and 161 girls participated.

The School Interracial Climate Scale (SICS; Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988) was used to measure interracial climate. This scale is comprised of 43 items that respondents rate on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). The Cronbach's alpha was reported as .89 for the full test. One school had a majority of African American students, the second had a majority of Latino American students, the third had a relatively equal distribution of African and European Americans, and the fourth had a majority of European Americans. Participants' SES was measured by parents' education level (Pellebon, 2000).

Multiple regressions were conducted to test the contributions of each ethnicity variable (interracial climate, racial majority in school, SES) to ethnic identity

development. Findings showed that interdependence, equal status, parents' education level (student SES), and schools with different racial majorities were not significantly associated with ethnic identity development ($p < .05$). However, there were significant associations of several independent variables with ethnic identity development. African American ethnicity ($\beta = .37, p < .01$), Latino American ethnicity ($\beta = .26, p < .01$), and other ethnicity ($\beta = .18, p < .05$) explained most of the variance. Intergroup association ($\beta = -.24, p < .01$) was negatively related to ethnic identity development, suggesting that the association between ethnic groups appears to reduce the degree of ethnic identity development. However, there was a ranked degree of ethnic identity development based on ethnic group. The findings suggested that ethnic minority groups develop a deeper ethnic identity relative to European Americans (Pellebon, 2000).

Pellebon (2000) noted the possibility of sampling bias since the sample was a volunteer convenience sample for which there was no definable population, and data collection involved inconsistent intraschool and interschool procedures. Consequently, the reliability of data across schools was questionable. These findings also suggest that intergroup association may be more predictive of ethnic identity development than a school's racial composition alone since groups who share the same environment do not necessarily have meaningful interaction. If ethnic identity is a buffer against intergroup conflict, improved intergroup relations would affect the importance of ethnic identity. Therefore, positive intergroup contact may reduce the need for ethnic identity development due to the perception of greater equality. Furthermore, ethnic identity development also may be the result of a group's unique cultural experience as it interacts

with the majority culture.

Also exploring the impact of the social context on individual's ethnic identity, Saylor and Aries (1999) investigated ethnic identity within the perspective of context change. Asserting that individuals search for a new basis to support their identity when entering a new context, Saylor and Aries studied a broad range of U.S. minority groups through a full academic year at college and a complete change of context.

Saylor and Aries (1999) selected a sample of 110 college students (43 men, 67 women) that included 13 African Americans, 24 Hispanic Americans, 54 Asian or Asian American students, 15 mixed ethnic/racial heritage students, 2 Native American students, and 2 students from other backgrounds. At the beginning, middle, and end of the academic year, 103 participants (age range 16 – 21 years; $M = 17.37$ years) completed questionnaires about campus life. The social classes of their families were as follows: 21 % working class, 28 % middle class, 43% upper middle class, and 7% upper class. Most of the participants' parents (76% of fathers, 68% of mothers) had completed college or received graduate or professional degrees.

Participants were divided into two groups based on the strength of their ethnic identities as measured by the Affirmation and Belonging subscale of the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). This subscale measures positive feelings and sense of pride in belonging to one's ethnic group, with stronger ethnic identities ascribed to those with scores of 6 or higher and weaker ethnic identities to those with scores below 6 (Saylor & Aries, 1999).

To assess the strength of participants' cultural backgrounds, Saylor and Aries (1999) asked the students to rate three items on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not*

at all involved) to 9 (*very much involved*) in regard to their high school involvement in ethnic organizations, their parents' involvement in ethnic organizations, and their families' participation in cultural traditions. Three additional items were used to measure the strength of students' cultural backgrounds in regard to the ethnicity of their high school friends, of students in their high school, and of people in their neighborhood.

Ethnic identity was assessed by the MEIM (Phinney, 1992), including Saylor and Aries's (1999) expansion of its Ethnic Identity Achievement subscale that was intended to highlight one's stage of development. Stages were conceptualized as representing students' degree of agreement (rated on a 9-point scale) with attitudes representing the following stages of ethnic identity development: (a) pre-encounter (13 items), (b) immersion (9 items), and (c) internalization/commitment (5 items). Students' campus involvement in ethnic activities was also assessed by noting the degree of students' participation in an ethnic organization.

Saylor and Aries (1999) developed scales to assess ethnic behaviors and practices with responses ranging from 1 (*does not describe me at all*) to 9 (*describes me very well*). The Ethnic Culture scale includes 5 items that measures the degree to which ethnic friends and dating or marrying someone of one's ethnicity are important to self-definition. The Ethnic Media scale measures the degree to which ethnic TV, radio, books and magazines are important to self-definition. The Ethnic Social Action scale measures the degree to which involvement in ethnic organizations and knowledge of one's ethnic group are important to self-definition. Two additional scales, the Campus Adjustment scale and the Support scale, were developed to measure the effects of membership in

ethnic organizations. Finally, overall adjustment to college was rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*a lot*).

Findings of this study (Saylor & Aries, 1999) indicated that students who entered college with stronger ethnic identities as previously defined and measured found ways to support those identities at college. Of the 73 students who entered with stronger ethnic identities, 77% had joined an ethnic organization by midyear, whereas only 29% of the 34 students who entered college with weaker ethnic identities had joined an ethnic organization, $\chi^2 (1, N = 107) = 21.96, p < .001$. Students who had entered college with stronger ethnic identities were also less likely to show pre-encounter attitudes than were those who had entered with weaker ethnic identities. The students with stronger identities had significantly higher internalization/commitment scores ($M = 6.39, SD = 1.45$), suggesting that they had explored and had greater commitment to their ethnic identities, than did those students with weaker identities ($M = 4.72, SD = 1.54$), $t (107) = 5.51, p < .001$.

Saylor and Aries (1999) found that when students first arrived at college, their background variables accounted for almost one-third of the variance in their scores on affirmation and belonging ($R^2 = .32$, adjusted $R^2 = .29$). Family participation in cultural traditions ($\beta = .25$), involvement in ethnic organizations in high school ($\beta = .29$), and percentage of high school friends of the same ethnicity ($\beta = .36$) were all significant predictors of strength of ethnic identity upon arrival at college. The results were almost same at midyear ($R^2 = .35$, adjusted $R^2 = .32$); however, at the end of the academic year, background variables explained slightly less variance in affirmation and belonging

($R^2 = .30$, adjusted $R^2 = .26$). Family participation in cultural traditions was no longer a significant predictor of strength of ethnic identity ($\beta = .13$), but involvement in ethnic organizations in high school ($\beta = .41$) and percentage of high school friends of one's own ethnicity ($\beta = .29$) were. Frequency of attendance at events sponsored by ethnic organizations ($\beta = .25$) and percentage of college friends of the same ethnicity ($\beta = .29$) became significant predictors at the end of the year.

Saylor and Aries (1999) found correlations between measures of strength of ethnic identity at the three times indicated strong stability in ethnic identity. A significant main effect for strength of ethnic identity was apparent in the scores for ethnic identity achievement, $F(1, 98) = 38.07, p = .000$. Although students entering college with stronger ethnic identities were more likely to join ethnic organizations, membership in ethnic organizations did not hold them back from involvement in and adjustment to a larger college life. By the end of the year, the students with stronger ethnic identities who had joined ethnic organizations had also joined significantly more nonethnic groups ($M = 2.52, SD = 1.78$) than the students with weaker ethnic identities ($M = 1.82, SD = 1.16$), $t(99.09) = 2.40, p = .018$. In addition, although those who joined ethnic organizations had more friends of their own ethnicity ($M = 40.87, SD = 27.61$) than did students who did not join ethnic organizations ($M = 21.51, SD = 25.41$), $t(110) = 3.75, p < .001$, only 41% of members' friends were of the same ethnicity, and only 25% of their friends were members of the same ethnic organizations.

Overall, students who joined ethnic groups were more likely than those who did not join such groups to report (a) that they had gotten to know people from different

backgrounds, $t(101) = 3.33, p = .001$, and (b) that they had pursued more new activities and interests ($M = 3.59, SD = .99$) than had the students with weaker ethnic identities ($M = 2.91, SD = 1.01$), $t(101) = 3.37, p = .001$. They also tended to report greater personal growth ($M = 3.83, SD = .95$) than did those who did not join ethnic groups ($M = 3.45, SD = 1.09$), $t(101) = 1.87, p = .065$ (Saylor & Aries, 1999).

In summary, students entering college with strong ethnic identities established new bases of support by joining an ethnic organization. Students who joined ethnic groups were also likely to report (a) that they had gotten to know people from different backgrounds and (b) that they had pursued more new activities and interests than those who did not join ethnic groups. They tended to report greater personal growth as well. These findings support that a strong identification with one's ethnic group does not necessarily imply a low involvement with the dominant culture and provide no evidence that ethnic organizations further isolate minority students or impede their involvement in mainstream college life.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has reviewed the literature on ethnic identity and factors related to the development of ethnic identity. Despite the fact that many researchers acknowledge the significance of the development of ethnic identity to one's psychological functioning, few empirical studies have focused on factors that may influence the process of forming an ethnic identity (Phinney, 1996). Most research in this field has focused on the consequences of a strong or weak identification, but rarely on factors that may influence

the development of either identification (Thompson, 1991).

The empirical studies reviewed included a variety of factors that influence ethnic identity development, including parents and family, language acquisition and maintenance, ethnic education and role models, experiences with racism, and other environmental factors. Findings support the prediction that parents are instrumental in setting the tone for their children's behavior, attitudes, and successful functioning in both cultural worlds. Furthermore, the influence of parenting style and parents' own sense of ethnic identity and level of acculturation may extend to adolescents' ethnic identity development, indicating that parental modeling of ethnic identification is likely to be a critical factor influencing adolescents' own attitudes toward ethnic group membership. Parental encouragement of cultural maintenance, ethnic language proficiency, and in-group peer social interactions are also important contributors to the ethnic identity of adolescents.

Exposure to positive role models and participation in ethnic studies/education are also important factors that may foster a stronger sense of ethnic identity, cultural pride, self-esteem, and a sense of empowerment. The exposure to an ideology that rejects negative attitudes and beliefs in favor of a more positive and accepting view also facilitates the development of a more positive ethnic identity. Positive within-group experiences appear to play an important role in the development and maintenance of ethnic/racial identification. These factors appear to be common to a variety of ethnic groups (e.g., Filipino American, Puerto Rican American, African American).

Individuals' experiences with racism may have both negative and positive effects on the development of a positive ethnic identity. For some individuals, the experience may hinder the development of positive ethnic identity, whereas it may provoke others to espouse their ethnic identity and to connect with other ethnic groups. Since the development of ethnic identity is not a state but a progressive dynamic, this differential reaction to racism may be manifested by the same individuals at different times. Individuals who are secure (both personally and in their ethnicity) may be more resistant to negative information about their ethnic group than those who are insecure.

Membership in ethnic organizations during high school and college, the percentage of friends of the same ethnicity, and family participation in cultural practices have also been found to be significant predictors of strength of ethnic identity. In fact, intergroup association may be more helpful in ethnic identity development than a school's racial composition alone because groups who share the same environment do not necessarily have a meaningful interaction. However, results have been inconclusive in regard to the impact of social class on racial identity. The impact of schools' interracial climate, of a racial majority in school, and of socioeconomic status on ethnic identity needs further evaluation.

Findings have also indicated the impact of social interaction with peers from the same ethnic group is a significant influence on ethnic identity development among adolescents from non-European ethnic groups (Phinney et al., 2001). Saylor & Aries (1999) also found that the percentage of high school friends of one's own ethnicity and the percentage of college friends of the same ethnicity to be significant predictors of

individual's ethnic identity. These findings indicate that exposure to peers from the same ethnic group positively impacts ethnic identity development.

According to Thompson's (1991) study, the racial composition of the environment during adolescence was significantly related to ethnic identity development. High levels of interaction with people from one's own ethnic/racial group were also associated with increased racial identification. However, Pellebon (2000) found that a school's racial majority was not significantly associated with ethnic identity development, suggesting that intergroup association maybe more predictive of ethnic identity development than the school's racial composition. In other words, although individuals may find friends from their own race/ethnic group more easily, people who share the same environment do not necessarily share meaningful interactions. Further research is needed to investigate the significance of these environmental factors for individuals' positive ethnic identity development.

As previously mentioned, researchers in the field of ethnic identity are faced with many difficulties. Their research has been hampered by the multidimensional factors of ethnic identity, the variety of ways in which ethnic identity has been defined, and the lack of a reliable measure of ethnic identity. The preponderance of research reviewed used either qualitative method or instruments developed or revised to fit the purposes of each particular study. Another noticeable concern is that of sampling. Most studies focused on a particular ethnic group. As a result, interpretation and application of findings across ethnic groups must be done with caution. Although there are many limitations, the information provided is clinically relevant and valuable, not only to mental health

professionals, but also to educators and parents in assisting children and adolescents in the development of a healthy ethnic identity that is an important component of a positive self concept.

Implications for Treatment

The research reviewed suggests that low ethnic identity results in poor psychological functioning. Although ethnic meaning may remain hidden or out of one's awareness, it is "an ever present influence that is readily mobilized in human interaction" (Pinderhughes, 1989, p. 39), reflected automatically in individuals' feelings, thoughts, perceptions, expectations, and actions toward others. Therefore, clinicians must understand the pervasive significance of ethnic meaning to their clients, as well as to themselves. Assessment of clients' ethnic identity development is a necessary task. Even though clients may not be aware of or express these struggles, clinicians should not be hesitant to explore whether one source for psychological discomfort may be due to struggles in their ethnic meaning. The client's discomfort related to ethnic identity (whether unclear, ambivalent, or negative) is an important dynamic to be recognized in the therapeutic process.

Findings revealed that the influence of parenting style and parents' own sense of ethnic identity and level of acculturation may extend to adolescents' ethnic identity development, indicating that parental modeling of ethnic identification is likely to be a critical factor that influences adolescents' own attitudes toward ethnic group membership (Farver et al., 2002). In addition, an authoritative parenting style was found to be an important factor in positive ethnic identity development (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

Another study suggested that adolescents with high self-esteem deal better with racism and tend to not incorporate negative information about their ethnicity into their self-identity (Phinney et al., 1993). These findings support the importance of teaching effective parenting skills and working toward enhancing the parent-child relationship to help children and adolescents develop a positive ethnic identity.

The importance of positive ethnic identity development for non-European ethnic group adolescents needs to be addressed in parenting education materials. Clinicians also need to assist parents in the exploration of parents' own ethnic identity development and acculturation style because these influence their children's ethnic identity development and facilitate healthy psychological functioning.

Research findings revealed that ethnic education, as well as language acquisition and maintenance, is a significant factor in positive ethnic identity development. As a result, sending children to ethnic weekend schools appears to have a positive impact on children's ethnic identity development. Parents and educators need to expose children to positive ethnic role models of the past and present. Educators can invite role models of different ethnic groups to share their stories with children. Parents can also encourage participation in ethnic social groups during high school and college. More bilingual and bicultural educators are needed to act as positive role models, especially in junior and senior high schools where students are most actively in the process of identity formation. Since acculturation style affects psychological functioning, the assessment of children's and adolescents' acculturation styles would help clinicians and parents guide them in

developing confidence in both cultures. A bicultural acculturation style and positive ethnic identity are important factors related to healthy psychological functioning.

In order for clinicians to assist their clients effectively in these areas, they must explore and be aware of their own ethnic identity development. Pinderhughes (1989) asserted that to ensure effectiveness in their work with clients, clinicians must understand the dynamics of ethnicity as these affect themselves as well as their clients. When clinicians are clear and mainly positive about their self-definition and their ethnic/racial identity, they can appreciate the similarities and differences between themselves and members of other ethnic groups, which will enhance their effectiveness in engaging and helping clients. However, the achievement of a positive and integrated sense of identity, which is essential to mental health and significant in helpers' preparation, requires clinicians to strive actively to understand what their ethnicity means to them and to identify what may be confusing and/or lead to ambivalence (Pinderhughes). The same lessons of self awareness are vital for educators as well.

In cross-cultural counseling, clinicians must understand the situations in which power or lack of power may be experienced and be willing to clarify the needs, expectations, and tendencies in this relationship. In understanding their own experiences, feelings, attitudes, and behaviors related to a power differential, the clinician can remain vigilant for those that are likely to occur in the context of the therapeutic relationship.

Suggestions for Future Research

Further defining and refining the concept of ethnic identity and its complex, multidimensional nature is, no doubt, the most important task for researchers in the study

of ethnic identity. Toward that end, further research in regard to the dimensions of internal (e.g., ethnic pride, feelings of attachment to ethnic group) and external (e.g., language, ethnic food preferences, ethnic behaviors) ethnic identity would be helpful. Most researchers seem to conceptualize the relationship between internal and external identity as linear or unidimensional. However, a bidimensional relationship between internal and external ethnic identity has also been suggested as illustrated in Figure 1.

Further research on this bilateral model of ethnic identity is needed to investigate the internal and external components of ethnic identity. The relevance of specific factors of each component need to be identified (e.g., language ability, ethnic food preference). More research is also needed that explores potential differences in psychological functioning between individuals who score high on both internal and external ethnic identity and those who score high on internal and low on external ethnic identity. Indeed, these latter individuals may face very different challenges from those who are high on both internal and external ethnic identity.

The impact of acculturation on positive ethnic identity development also warrants further investigation. America is becoming a pluralistic society that celebrates cultural differences, and many of its citizens maintain their ethnic heritage and practice customs from their native lands. Much like the ingredients of a salad, each ethnic group keeps its own special "taste" and characteristics even as it is being included with other "ingredients." However, everyone is inevitably influenced by one common factor—living in America—just as the ingredients of a salad are influenced by the "salad dressing" and the fact that they are in the salad bowl together. Ingredients being blended with salad

Figure 1.

A bidimensional model of internal/external ethnic identity

		Internal Ethnic Identity	
		High	Low
External Ethnic Identity	High	High Ethnic Identity	Low Ethnic Identity
	Low	High Ethnic Identity	Low Ethnic Identity

dressings and other ingredients is analogous to the acculturation process. Each ethnic group maintains their unique qualities even as they blend with the population at large, but their "flavors" are altered as a result of living together in America. This perspective on ethnic identity challenges researchers to approach its study from a slightly different angle.

Since parents' own sense of ethnic identity and level of acculturation has been shown to impact their adolescents' ethnic identity development, further studies need to be done to identify factors relating to the development of integrative or bicultural acculturation style and its relationship to positive ethnic identity development. Further research delineating and identifying other significant environmental factors that may influence positive ethnic identity development would also be highly relevant.

Further research focusing on the ethnic identity formation for recent immigrants is also needed. Current ethnic identity development models focus on 2nd-generation groups (i.e., those born in America whose parents were born in another country) and neglect the identity formation process of more recent immigrants (1st and 1.5 generation: those immigrating as children). Recent immigrants may have strong ethnic identity from the start and may have already achieved ethnic identity. However, their contact with the host culture will have increased and they have likely to have encountered cultural biases, which may precipitate an ethnic identity crisis. Consequently, they may experience a very different process reforming an ethnic identity formation. Without a doubt, much research is needed in this area.

More research is also needed in regard to the ethnic identity development of women. The possibility of double victimization of women because of their gender and minority status warrants further investigation. This added complexity requires women to process sex-role issues in addition to ethnic ones in order to achieve a healthy ethnic identity. In short, they may have to work twice as hard to resolve conflicting values and maintain their ethnic identity (See also Galapon, 1997; Pinderhughes, 1989).

More research to identify the general components of ethnic identity across ethnic groups is also needed. Identification of specific or unique factors for each particular ethnic group as well as reliable instruments to measure those factors are needed. For example, language may not be an important factor in the development of ethnic identity for some, but it is for others. Other factors that facilitate healthy ethnic identity for specific groups are also worthy of further exploration. For example, Korean Americans'

participation in a local church has been found to be an important factor in their ethnic identity development (Lee, 2001). Utilization of more diverse samples may also help researchers to identify common factors of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990).

Although the literature has many limitations, the current data provide useful information on factors that influence the development of ethnic identity. Nevertheless, it is evident that more research is needed to identify factors related to the development of ethnic identity that is a crucial part of individuals' sense of self. Potential findings could prove helpful, not only to mental health professionals, but also to parents and educators in their quest to raise children who have a healthy sense of self.

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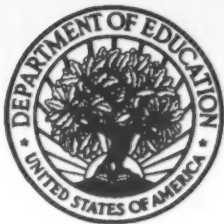
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